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THE REBELLION OF TUPAC-AMARU II, 1780-1781

I

THE GENEALOGY OF TUPAC-AMARU II

When Pizarro and his followers arrived in Peru in 1532, after some six years of preparatory exploration, they found the country under the rule of a powerful native monarch named Atahualpa, whose ancestors, during some four hundred years, had built up a very large and well organized empire. The royal family was generally known by the name of Inca, a term which popular usage has wrongly applied to all the pre-conquest peoples of the Andean highlands and the adjacent littoral. It is not my purpose to say more of the Incas here than is necessary to explain just what they were.

About 1100 A.D. the Incas were a rather small and unimportant tribe belonging to the Quechua linguistic stock which was very widespread in the Andean highlands. They seem to have lived at one time in a district a few miles south of the Cuzco valley, but at about the date mentioned they moved into the valley, probably in search of better lands for their farms and for their flocks of llamas and alpacas. Gradually they imposed their rule upon all the tribes which had preceded them in the Cuzco valley and, having solidified their power at home, they set about building up the great and famous empire of Tahuantinsuyu (Land of the Four Provinces). By the middle of the fifteenth century

the Inca dominions included the highlands between Caxamarca (now Cajamarca) on the North and Tucuman on the south, as well as the coast between Lambayeque on the north and the region of Arica on the south. These were the limits of the vast territory ruled by the Inca Pachacutec (*ca.*, 1425-1478). They included the wrecks and vestiges of many far older states which had flourished long before the Inca tribe had begun to change itself into a dynasty. Pachacutec's successors, the Incas Tupac Yupanqui (1478-1488) and Huayna Capac (1488-1530) increased the empire so that, when Atahualpa became sovereign, it included all the territories, both highland and lowland, between northern Ecuador and central Chile. In spite of its enormous size, this empire, with its remarkable semi-civilization, was ably administered and efficiently organized.¹

In 1532 the Inca empire was in a weakened condition on account of civil wars. The Inca Huayna Capac had very foolishly divided his empire into two parts on his death, leaving the southern half, with the old Inca city of Cuzco as its capital, to his legitimate heir, Huascar, and giving the northern half, with Quito as its capital, to his favorite but illegitimate son Atahualpa. Under these conditions internecine strife was inevitable. In the war which broke out between the brothers Atahualpa was the victor. He took his rival prisoner and had all his adherents put to death with great cruelty.

This was the situation when Pizarro entered upon the scene. At that time (November, 1532) Atahualpa was at Caxamarca, a favorite residence of his. There, after a number of dramatic oc-

¹ The history of the Inca empire may be studied in the following works: Pedro de Ciezo de León: *The Chronicles of Peru*. Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society. London, 1883. El Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega: *The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*. Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, 2 vols. London, 1869-71. Sir Clements R. Markham: *The Incas of Peru*. London 1910. Philip Ainsworth Means: "An Outline of the Culture Sequence in the Andean Area". In the *19th International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 236-252. Washington, 1917. José de la Riva-Agüero: *La Historia en el Perú*. Lima, 1910. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa: *The History of the Incas*. Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society. London, 1907. Max Uhle: *Los orígenes de los Incas*. Lima, 1910. Carlos Wiesse: *Las Civilizaciones Primitivas del Perú*. Lima, 1913.

currences, Pizarro seized his person and, through it, the entire administrative machinery of the empire. An enormous ransom, equal to about \$17,500,000, was imposed upon the sovereign by his captors. While it was being collected, Atahualpa secretly gave orders that the prisoner Huascar be assassinated. No sooner was the ransom gathered together than Atahualpa himself was treacherously killed by the orders of Pizarro. Thus perished the last independent monarch of Tahuantinsuyu.²

Like all the Incas, Huayna Capac had a tremendous number of children, the legitimate ones, besides Huascar, including Manco, Paullu, and Titu Atauchi. Of these only Manco Inca is important in history. Just as Pizarro had followed the example of Cortes in capturing the person of a sovereign, so also did he find it advisable to set up a kinsman of that sovereign as puppet king. His opportunity for doing this was not long delayed. One of Atahualpa's generals, Chalcuchima by name, was held prisoner by the Spaniards. This man Pizarro slew, probably at the instigation of Friar Valverde who had been instrumental in the death of Atahualpa. The murder of Chalcuchima, a member of Atahualpa's party, led Manco Inca, who belonged to Huascar's party, to throw himself on the mercy of Pizarro. This event took place toward the end of 1533, the site where it occurred being the beautiful valley of Xaquixahuana (now called Anta) not far from Cuzco, lying northwest of the capital. That valley had been the seat of a royal residence for some generations, and even today the magnificent masonry terraces of the old gardens may be seen for miles across the valley as one comes up from Cuzco.

With characteristic astuteness, Pizarro played upon the hatred which young Manco had for Atahualpa and his supporters, and thereby he easily won the young Inca to his cause. The conquerors entered Cuzco on November 15, 1533, and on March 24,

² For further data consult: Sir Clements R. Markham: *A History of Peru*. Chicago, 1892. Pedro Pizarro: *Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*. Edited by Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, "Colección de Libros . . . referentes a la Historia del Perú," VI. Lima, 1917. William H. Prescott: *The Conquest of Peru*. 2 vols. New York, 1847. Pedro Sancho: *An Account of the Conquest of Peru*. Edited by Philip Ainsworth Means for the Cortes Society. New York, 1917.

1534, Manco Inca was crowned with the royal *borla* or feather-diadem of the Incas. The ceremony was made all the more pitifully ironical by the pomp and circumstance which Pizarro and Valverde gave to it.

The immediate benefits accruing from this policy of the Spaniards were not inconsiderable. Manco lent aid of great importance in the crushing of Quiz Quiz who, like Chalcuchima, was an adherent of Atahualpa. But after a time the young Inca's proud spirit rebelled against the churlish treatment meted out to him by his Spanish allies, and presently he became exceedingly restive. On April 18, 1536, Manco made good his escape from durance at Cuzco, and fled to Yucay, in the beautiful Urubamba valley. There he raised the standard of rebellion, gathering about him a large, though not very well disciplined, host of discontented Indians. His supporters, naturally enough, hated the followers of Atahualpa and the Spaniards almost equally.

Manco laid siege to the city of Cuzco and, for a time, gravely menaced the Spanish power over it. But after some months of desperate fighting it was recovered under the leadership of Juan and Hernando Pizarro. The young Inca withdrew with his followers to the Urubamba valley. For a time he offered resistance to his enemies at Ollantaytambo, but in a short while he retreated into the fastnesses of the region of Vilcabamba. He established himself, late in 1536 or early in 1537, at a remote place called Vitcos³ where he and those who were faithful found a safe haven from the invaders and also a good base for raiding expeditions, the latter being particularly directed against trade between Cuzco and Lima. Vitcos became a place of asylum for all sorts of refugees, both Spanish and Indian. About the end of 1544 or early in 1545 one of these refugees, a fellow named Gomez Perez, killed the Inca in a quarrel which arose during a game of bowls.

Manco Inca was survived by his brother, Paullu, who, after being baptised, was known as Don Cristoval Paullu Inca. He was married to Catalina Usica Coya. This couple did not join their

³ Visited and described by Dr. Hiram Bingham in 1911. Consult his *Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital*. Worcester, Mass., American Antiquarian Society, 1912.

brother Manco in his refuge at Vitcos. Instead, they lived, with considerable pomp, in the Collcampata palace just outside Cuzco. Their son, Carlos Inca, married a woman of noble birth named Maria de Ezquivel. Of them I shall speak again presently.

Manco Inca was also survived by three sons, Sayri Tupac, Titu Yupanqui, and Tupac Amaru I. Of these, the first succeeded his father as Inca, and he ruled over Vitcos and its district from 1545 to 1555. It was a period of few events. In the latter year, Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete, arrived in Lima as viceroy. The idea of permitting Sayri Tupac to continue independent and full of pretensions was repulsive to him. So he persuaded an aunt of Sayri Tupac, the Princess Beatrix (who was married to a Spanish gentleman named Martin de Mustincia and lived in Cuzco) to aid him in encouraging Sayri Tupac to take up his residence in Cuzco where so many of his kinsmen were already well established. After protracted negotiations, Sayri Tupac finally did this. He was baptised under the name of Diego Sayri Tupac, and died at Yucay in 1560. Some years later, his daughter Princess Clara Beatrix, married Martín García de Loyola, Captain General of Chile, and their daughter was created Marquesa de Oropesa in 1616. She married Don Juan Enriquez de Borja, of the ducal House of Gandia.⁴

Titu Cusi Yupanqui, half brother of Sayri Tupac, wrongly seized the power. He had no right to it, for he was illegitimate, and the rightful Inca was Tupac Amaru I. Nevertheless, Titu Cusi held sway from about 1557 until about 1571, Tupac Amaru being kept imprisoned in the Acellahuasi (House of Consecrated Women). About 1570, the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, arrived in Cuzco on a tour of inspection. On January 6, 1571, he acted as sponsor in baptism to Melchor Carlos Inca, the infant son of Don Cristoval Paullu Inca and his legitimate wife, Doña María de Esquivel. The ceremony was a very splendid one, being carried out with all possible pomp. Among the members of the

⁴ Consult in addition to various works already cited: Diego de Castro Tito Cusi Yupanqui Inca, *Relación de la Conquista del Perú y hechos del Inca Manco II*. Edited by Horacio H. Urteaga, "Colección de Libros referentes a la Historia del Perú", II. Lima, 1916. Markham, *The War of Quito*, Hakl. Soc., 1913.

Inca family who assisted at it were Titu Cusi and Tupac Amaru. Shortly after that event, Titu Cusi, having returned to Vitcos where he again confined Tupac Amaru, sent ambassadors to Toledo to express his willingness to receive Christianity. After some display of arrogance and capriciousness by both Toledo and Titu Cusi, the latter was baptised at Vitcos by Friar Juan de Vivero, receiving the name of Felipe. Very soon after this Felipe Titu Cusi died, probably of pneumonia.⁵

Some of the chief men at Vitcos now set up the boy Tupac Amaru I. as Inca, making him assume the *borla* and all other insignia of sovereignty. After a series of skirmishes, in which some of his own kinsmen fought against him, Tupac Amaru was captured on October 4, 1571, by the forces of Toledo. Some days later, in spite of the opposition offered by most of the people (including the Bishop of Popayan and the heads of several monastic orders, as well as a number of influential lawyers and citizens), Toledo condemned the young Inca to death after scarcely any trial. Tupac Amaru I. was killed in Cuzco in the presence of a gigantic crowd which loudly bewailed his fate until he bade them to cease. As a sign of their feeling in the matter, the clergy and people gave the body as splendid a burial as they could, and they did all in their power to honor his memory. This angered Toledo so much that he set about systematically destroying all vestiges of the Inca rule, as an aid to which he drew up an oppressive code known as the *Libro de Tasas*, the first part of which bore the date October 18, 1572.

It is a satisfaction to know that when Toledo returned to Spain he was severely rebuked by Philip II. who is said to have remarked that Toledo was sent to Peru to serve kings, not to kill them. It is also pleasant to know that the two infant daughters of Tupac Amaru I., Juana and Magdalena, found a haven with Dr. Gerónimo de Loaysa, Archbishop of Lima, until his death in 1575. Later on, Juana married the *curaca* of Surimani and Tungasuca (near Sicuani and not far from Cuzco), by name Con-

⁵ Besides works already mentioned, consult: Baltasar de Ocampo Conejeros, *Account of the Province of Vilcapampa*. Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society. London, 1907.

dorcanqui. From her descended José Gabriel Condorcanqui, or Tupac Amaru II., the subject of this paper.⁶

II

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF PERU IN 1780

Even at the risk of interrupting the thread of my story, I must now give an account of the social conditions that prevailed in Peru (which then included a portion of what is now Bolivia) at the time of José Gabriel Condorcanqui (Tupac Amaru II.).

From the time of Columbus, the Crown of Castile had manifested a sincere desire that the natives of the vast American territories which formed its most spectacular appanage should be treated with fairness and justice, and that every effort be made to instruct them in Christianity and in good morals. The American natives were regarded by the Crown as its direct subjects and as its special protegés. In this we find a sharp contrast to the English policy of regarding them as hostile foreigners.⁷ Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as most of their successors on the throne, never let slip an opportunity to exhort their officials to be kind and reasonable to the Indians, and to christianize them as soon as possible.

In spite of these benevolent intentions on the part of the Crown, however, the treatment meted out to the natives by the colonists and minor officials was often that of rigorous repression and harshest injustice. Even so early as the first decade of the sixteenth century it became necessary to take measures for the encouragement of colonizing activities in Hispaniola and elsewhere. The earliest colonists had had high hopes of finding large treasures of gold and of becoming thereby suddenly and easily rich.

⁶ See Markham, *A History of Peru*; Bingham, *Vicos, the Last Inca Capital*; and Ocampo Conejeros, *Account of the Province of Vilcapampa*. See also, Hildebrando Fuentes, *El Cuzco y sus ruínas*, Lima, 1905; Marshall H. Saville, *Some unpublished Letters of Pedro de la Gasca relating to the Conquest of Peru*, Worcester, Mass., 1918; and Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, Boston 1886 (especially an article by Markham) II. pp. 552 ff.

⁷ Roger Bigelow Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (New York, 1918). II. 230-236.

When it became clear that, as far as the Caribbean Islands were concerned, these hopes were vain, other means of stimulating colonization had to be found. These came to hand in the form of an adaptation of the system of *repartimientos* or *encomiendas* which had been used by James the Conqueror in the Balearic Islands as early as 1230.⁸ The system consisted in the practise of giving to the conquerors allotments of land together with the labor of the natives who lived on it. The Crown, however, intended no injury to its new American subjects by this adaptation; rather, it was hoped that it would be the means of bringing them the more quickly into the fold of the Holy Mother Church. Nevertheless, by the year 1511, conditions directly due to the *repartimiento* system had become so bad in Santo Domingo and elsewhere that the Dominicans (who were the Indians' staunchest defenders) brought the attention of the Crown to bear upon them. The result was that King Ferdinand caused the publication, on December 27, 1512, of the Laws of Burgos in which the rights of the Indians were definitely set forth.⁹ This was the first of a series of attempts to improve the status of the Indians.

The tremendous distances and the poor means of communication militated against the wishes of the king. So far removed as most of the colonists were from the royal power most of them had little or no reason for fearing punishment for disobedience to the law. Consequently selfishness and rapacity on the part of the holders of *repartimientos* soon resulted in making the position of the Indians worse than ever.

After the conquest of Peru *repartimientos* and *encomiendas* were authorized there by Charles V. and their transmission on hereditary principles was provided for. As before, the Crown wished to do no injury to the Indians, and as before the *encomenderos* took advantage of their remoteness to abuse their powers.¹⁰ The treatment of the natives on the estates and in the mines of Peru

⁸ Merriman, *ibid.*, I. 315, II. 232.

⁹ Francis Augustus MacNutt, *Bartholomew de Las Casas* (New York, 1909), p. 58.

¹⁰ Bernard Moses, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America* (New York, 1914), I. 212.

and other parts of Spanish America was so bad that it awoke the compassion of the Dominican Friar Bartolomé de las Casas. As a result of many years of untiring efforts on his part the New Laws were signed at Barcelona on November 20, 1542 by the Emperor Charles V. These laws provided for the abolishment of the *repartimiento* system and handed over to the Crown all the Indians who should be released from serfdom. Very strict regulations as to the labor of the Indians were likewise made.

Seeing themselves threatened with something very like absolute ruin, the *encomenderos* set about opposing the introduction of the New Laws by every means, fair or otherwise, in their power.¹¹ So violent and sustained, and likewise so natural, was the hostility to the New Laws that, on October 20, 1545, they were revoked by the Crown. In Peru, however, they provoked the Civil War of Gonzalo Pizarro. Not until 1547 was this revolt put down, by the Inquisitor Pedro de la Gasca, to whom, as President of the Audiencia of Lima, extraordinary powers were given for this purpose.

Thus the second attempt of the Crown to give justice to its Indian subjects was rendered abortive. It must be conceded that, though the ideals held by the sovereign were high, they were somewhat visionary, and at the same time, they were diametrically opposed to the interests of all the most influential colonists. Consequently, the situation of the Indians was not ameliorated, indeed, as time went on, it even became gradually worse.

The reader will remember that mention was made in section I, to the *Libro de Tasas* promulgated in October, 1572, by the harsh viceroy Toledo. The *Libro* was directly connected with the oppressive measures taken by that official after the judicial assassination of Tupac Amaru I. In spite of the fact that he was the personal representative of King Philip II. in Peru, Toledo, far from doing his best to protect the Indians as he ought to have done, did all in his power to crush them into a state of unmitigated serfdom. The displeasure of his royal master has already been mentioned.

¹¹ Moses, *ut supra*, I. 215; MacNutt, *ut supra*, pp. 232-236; Markham, *A History of Peru*, pp. 119-125.

The *Libro de Tasas* embodies an adaptation of a system of local government which had been inaugurated by Alfonso XI. in the fourteenth century and a modified form of the ancient Inca governmental system, the two being combined to make an administrative machine very efficacious for crushing the life out of the natives.¹²

For the purposes of local government the whole country was divided up into jurisdictions called *corregimientos*, each being presided over by a *còrregidor*. Of these officials there were about fifty in the viceroyalty. As the viceroy was the personal representative of the sovereign, so was the *corregidor*, in a way, the representative in a given district of the viceroy. The *corregidor* not only collected the taxes from the Indians, but also enjoyed the exclusive right to trade with them. Opportunities for oppression were manifold, as will presently be made to appear.¹³ Each town was governed by a *cabildo* composed of an *alcalde* and a number of *regidores*. These officials, all directly representing the central and supreme authority of the Crown, were very reminiscent of others who had long held sway in Spain. Below them, however, came a hierarchy which still exists and which is now called the *gobernación menor*. This consisted of three grades of Indian magistrates: the *curacas* or *caciques* who were the chiefs ruling over the Indians in districts of considerable size; below them were the *pichca-pachacas*, or headmen having authority over five hundred heads of families; the lowest grade was made up of *pachacas* who were placed in charge of one hundred families. The *gobernación menor* was a direct survival in debased and mutilated form, of the wonderful Inca system, for the *curacas*, in Inca days, had been the mediatized chiefs of formerly independent tribes and regions.

At first glance it seems as if the *gobernación menor* might have been a means of defending the bulk of the Indians from the depredations of the *corregidores* and of the other Spanish officials. In effect, however, this was not the case. In some cases, as will

¹² Merriman, *ut supra*, I. 233; Markham, *A History of Peru*, pp. 156-161.

¹³ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 156; Moses, *ut supra*, II. 318-330. See also Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Noticias Secretas de América* (London, 1826), pp. 239-245.

have been noted at an earlier page, the native chiefs merged themselves with the conquerors through marriage or respectable concubinage. Geographical factors, such as altitude, great distances, and poor traveling accommodations, militated against the bringing of gently-born women from Spain to the Andean highlands. Some came, of course, but they were few, and the conquerors, many of them highly born, were forced to seek mates among the native aristocracy. As a result of this, almost all the good families in the high Andes today have some Indian blood. On the coast, naturally enough, white women were not so scarce, and consequently the amount of Indian blood is proportionately lower in the aristocracy of that region.

Another thing which caused the *curacas* to be but poor defenders of the lowlier Indians was the fact that they, the *curacas*, not only retained the special garments and insignia of their class, but also enjoyed special privileges, such as exemption from paying tribute and from personal service. This tended to make them distinct from the rest and, because it was they who had to aid the *corregidores* in the collection of tribute and in getting labor, they gradually fell out of sympathy with the mass of their fellow natives.¹⁴ Many of the *curacas* were men of considerable wealth and culture. As years went by they came to have more or less white blood, and so it was but natural that they should tend to identify themselves almost entirely with the conquering race.

By the combination of circumstances just outlined the Indians were robbed of all protection. Being mild-tempered and obedient to authority they quickly succumbed to the power of the official class and subsided into an unrelieved state of slavery in which they were constantly exploited by various means. The tribute exacted from the unfortunate Indians on the *encomiendas* was a grievous burden, but far worse were the various forms of personal service demanded. The *mita* (a Quechua word meaning stint) was similar in character to the corvée of pre-revolutionary France. By its means the Indians were obliged to work un-

¹⁴ James Bryce, *South America* (New York, 1913), p. 466; Juan Matienzo de Peralta, "Gobierno del Perú", (MS. in British Museum); 1625; and *Gobierno del Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1910); written about 1573.

der the worst possible conditions in *obrajes* (factories) and on various public works, as well as on farms. Toledo enacted that one-seventh of the Indian male population should be in the *mita* at any given time.

So great were the abuses arising from this law that, according to Don Francisco de Borja y Aragón, Príncipe de Esquilache (Viceroy of Peru, 1615-1621), the number of *mitayos* (Indians in the *mita*) rose to a sixth or even a fifth.¹⁵ Borja, in his account, speaks of the conditions as intolerable. Nearly half a century later Don Melchor de Navarra y Rocaful, Duque de la Palata, (viceroy, 1681-91), gave an account of the horrible situation at Potosí and other rich mines.¹⁶

As decade after decade rolled by the oppression of the several ranks of officials became heavier and heavier. The demands of the home government for more and more tribute and for constantly more gold and quicksilver existed side by side with a continued benevolence on the part of the sovereign's person and of the viceroys. Don José de Armendaris, Marqués de Castel-Fuerte (Viceroy, 1724-36), wrote of the Indians thus:

In the valleys of Runahuana, Huarco and Chilca, each of which had thirteen thousand dwellers, and in the province of Santa, which was worthy to be a kingdom, and also in other provinces, there are today scarcely any inhabitants, many villages being utterly deserted.¹⁷

Armendaris then goes on to make the following recommendations for the betterment of the Indians' condition: 1. That the viceroyal government and the prelates of the church take care to exercise due vigilance over the *corregidores* and other officials. 2. That brandy and other liquors be prohibited. 3. That decayed provinces be re-populated by means of immigrants from abundantly populated ones. The viceroy gives due credit to the Crown for its solicitude, and attributes much of the harm done to the inaccessibility of the country districts.

¹⁵ *Memorias de los Virreyes*. 6 vols. Lima, 1859. See I. 89-91.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 225.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 132.

The situation here portrayed continued up to the time of which it is the special purpose of this paper to speak. The lot of the Indians was a terribly sad one, for not only were they deserted by their own upper class, but they were also cruelly exploited by everyone, including the officials and the parish clergy. A goodly proportion of the latter, as well as a considerable number of the regular clergy and of the communities of religious women were permitting themselves too great a relaxation in their religious duties, with consequent demoralization. The rites of Holy Church were too often metamorphosed into superstitious practices, in great part, indeed, of pagan origin; and not infrequently the Indians were held by unspiritual guides in a veritable spiritual thralldom. Saints' days lost much of their religious character and became to the Indians an occasion for hilarity and rather dubious forms of entertainment, while fees for baptism, marriage, and burial were exorbitant.

It is but little wonder that the mountain peasantry was reduced to the miserable condition from which it is only now beginning to recover. On the coast, however, the situation was indubitably less evil. This was partly because the upper class there was made up of a better type of persons and because environmental conditions were less trying. Looked at from this point of view, the reasons why the inevitable outbreak occurred in the mountains and not on the coast are geographical as well as historical.¹⁸

III

THE LIFE AND DEEDS OF JOSÉ GABRIEL CONDORCANQUI (TUPAC AMARU II.)

The descent of Tupac Amaru II. (Condorcanqui) from the ancient royal family was undoubtedly authentic. It will be remembered that a daughter of Sayri Tupac, the Princess Clara Beatrix, married Don Martín García de Loyola and that their daughter was created Marquesa de Oropesa. She married Don

¹⁸ Consult; Bernard Moses; "The Revolt of Tupac Amaru." In *University of California Chronicle*, IX, 201-219. Moses: *South America on the Eve of Emancipation* (especially chaps. IV.-VI., VIII., and IX.) New York, 1908. Javier Prado y Ugarteche; *Estado Social del Perú durante la Dominación Española*. Lima, 1894.

Juan Enríquez de Borja about 1624. Among their descendants was José Gabriel Condorcanqui, who was likewise a descendant of that Juana (daughter of Tupac Amaru I.) who married Condorcanqui, *curaca* of Surimani and Tungasuca. Philip III. made Juana and her heirs part heritors in the Marquisate of Oropesa.¹⁹

José Gabriel was born at Tinta about the year 1742.²⁰ His parents were Miguel Condorcanqui, *curaca* of Tungasuca and Surimani, and Rosa Noguera de Condorcanqui. The father was a man of considerable wealth and position and was able to give José (and probably likewise his other son Diego Cristóbal), a good education. José's first tutors were two local priests. His boyhood was passed in the wide and fertile Vilcamayu Valley with its broad fields of maize and lucerne, its wide river and the wonderful Vilcanota Range of the Andes soaring into the sky not far away. At about the age of sixteen, José was sent to Cuzco to study at the school or colegio de San Borja which had been founded, in 1619, by the Viceroy Esquilache (Borja y Aragón) for Indian youths of noble birth. It seems not improbable that he showed himself to be a good scholar.²¹

In 1760 he married Micaela Bastidas, a member of the best family in Abancay, west of Cuzco. At about the same time, or a little later, his father died, leaving José the *curaca*-ship of Tungasuca and a number of other villages. A contemporary account of José speaks of him in these terms:

(Condorcanqui) was a man of five feet eight inches in height. His person was slender, and he had the countenance of an Indian, with an aquiline nose and vivacious black eyes larger than those which the Indians usually have. In his manners he was very well-bred and

¹⁹ Ocampo Conejeros, *ut supra*, notes by Markham, pp. 218, 230,

²⁰ Tinta is a town of about 1400 inhabitants lying not far from Sicuani, which is about midway between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca in the Vilcamayu Valley. The estates of Tungasuca and Surimani are close at hand. See Mariano Felipe Paz-Soldan, *Diccionario Geografico . . . del Perú*, Lima, 1877.

²¹ Markham, *A History of Peru*, pp. 194-196; Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico-biografico del Perú*, 8 vols. (Lima, 1874-87); John Miller, *Memoirs of General Miller* (London, 1838), I. 16-19; *Relación Histórica . . . de la sublevación de José Gabriel Tupac-Amaru* (anonymous); edited by José Rosendo Gutierrez (La Paz, 1879); Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, VIII. 296, 297.

courtly; he conducted himself with dignity in the presence of his superiors and with formality when with the Indians. He spoke Spanish perfectly and Quechua with a special grace. He lived luxuriously, and when he travelled he was always accompanied by many servants of the country, and sometimes by a chaplain. When he lived at Cuzco he habitually wore a long coat, knee-breeches of black velvet, which were then in fashion, stockings of silk, buckles of gold at his knees and in his shoes, a Spanish beaver hat, which was then worth twenty-four dollars, a ruffled shirt, and a waistcoat of gold tissue worth seventy or eighty dollars. He wore his hair long and curled. . . . He was much esteemed by all classes of society.²²

A goodly proportion of his not inconsiderable income was derived from the thirty-five strings of cargo-mules of which he was the owner. These he hired out to those who wished to transport merchandise. The society kept by the *curaca* was the best which the region offered. The priests of several neighboring villages and families of rank equal to his own were received as honored guests in his house. Among his friends was Dr. Antonio Valdes, the parish priest of Tinta, who, between 1770 and 1780 recast, in Castillian form, the ancient Quechua drama *Apu Ollantay*.²³ A performance of this play was given before José Gabriel Condorcanqui. He made a special point of cultivating the friendship of the Spanish officials, hoping thereby to persuade them to improve the miserable lot of most of the Indians. He himself ruled

²² Carlos Wiese, *Historia del Perú* (Lima, 1914), p. 148.

²³ The question of the antiquity of the drama in question is a vexed one. Tschudi, Markham, and Pacheco Zegarra have inclined toward the belief that it is almost wholly pre-conquest. Middendorf is the strongest of those on the other side. Mr. E. C. Hills's elaborate and very scholarly paper is the most recent contribution to the subject. To my mind, the evidence presented by him conclusively proves that the *present form* of the drama is the work of Dr. Valdes. On the other hand, my study of the matter carried on in Peru at different times, and especially my talks with two very intelligent Quechua actors who were presenting the play in Lima in 1918, has convinced me that the subject-matter is ancient entirely. One of the actors who knew the whole literature of the subject, told me that before 1770 the play had been a pantomime, of the same sort as those given at the Inca Court. See Elija Clarence Hills, "The Quechua Drama Ollanta", in *Romanic Review*, V. 127-176; Markham, *Apu Ollantay* (London, 1910); E. W. Middendorf: *Ollanta, ein Drama der Keshuasprache* (Leipzig, 1890); Gavino Pacheco Zegarra, *Ollantay* (Paris, 1878); Johann Jakob von Tschudi, *Ollanta* (Vienna, 1875).

with justice and kindness, frequently helping the unfortunate out of his own pocket.

In 1770, after he had been *curaca* for some years, José went to Lima to establish his claim to the Marquisate of Oropesa. Although there is no direct evidence as to his motive for doing this, it does not seem impossible that he may have thought that by receiving the title of Marqués de Oropesa he would strengthen his position with the Spaniards while, at the same time, public acknowledgement of his descent from Tupac Amaru I. would solidify his influence with the Indians. At all events, the claim was presently recognized by Don Serafin Leytan y Mola, the fiscal of the *Audiencia* of Lima.²⁴

On returning to his home, José gave up his family name of Condorcanqui, assuming in its place that of Tupac Amaru. As before, he put forth every effort on behalf of his people. An uncle of José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, Blas Tupac Amaru by name, was very actively associated with him in this work. So persistent were their efforts and so just was their cause that they succeeded in interesting Bishop Agustín Garrochátegui of Cuzco (ca. 1771-1776) in the matter. Blas was called to the Court of Charles III. to make his complaints which he was doing with great vigor and success when he suddenly died, perhaps by poison.

At this time one Antonio Arriaga was *corregidor* of Tinta and the surrounding region. He was a man of particular rapacity and unscrupulousness. He was too much even for the patient Indians and their long-suffering *curaca*. It was Arriaga's destiny to be the immediate cause of the first series of events which eventually led toward the revolution against Spanish power in America.²⁵

²⁴ Markham, *A History of Peru*, p. 196; Manuel de Odrizola, *Documentos Históricos del Perú*. 3 vols. (Lima, 1863.)

²⁵ It is well to note in passing that the viceroy, at the time of Tupac Amaru's uprising, was Agustín de Jáuregui y Aldecoa, a native of the kingdom of Navarre. He had seen colonial service in Puerto Rico and Cuba (1740-1763), and in 1773 he was appointed captain-general of Chile. He was viceroy of Peru for the period 1780-1784. See Juan Antonio de Lavalle, *Galería de Retratos de los Gobernadores y virreyes del Perú (1532-1824)*. Illustrated by Evaristo San Cristóbal. (Barcelona, 1909), pp. 153-156; Sebastián Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo los Borbones* (Lima, 1871), pp. 215-220.

There are two versions of what occurred on the 4th of November, 1780.

The version which is, in my opinion, the less likely runs as follows: On November 4, 1780, that being the name-day of the King (Charles III.), Tupac Amaru gave a dinner at his house to celebrate the day. Among the guests was *Corregidor* Arriaga. During the festivities Tupac Amaru suddenly announced that, because Arriaga had frequently exceeded the authority allowed him by the royal laws, and because he had been a public robber, he (Tupac Amaru) held authority from the king to execute the offending official on the scaffold.²⁶ The person of the *corregidor* was seized, and he was kept under guard until November 10, on which date he was publicly hanged in the plaza of Tungasuca.

The second, and apparently more authentic version is the following: On November 4, 1780, Don Carlos Rodriguez, parish priest of Yanaoca, gave a dinner party at his house. Arriaga and Tupac Amaru were among the guests. Pleading some excuse, the latter left the party before the other guests did so and, with a number of his own attendants, repaired to an ambush on the road to Tinta. Not long after Arriaga, on passing the spot on his way home, was seized and taken to Tungasuca where he was kept a prisoner until, on Friday, November 10, after having been forced to invite a number of Spaniards to see his execution and to disgorge a large sum of money, he was executed.²⁷

²⁶ The question of the "royal authority" is one full of obscurities. It is hardly to be supposed that Tupac Amaru actually held special orders from the king to put Arriaga to death for his misdeeds; such authority would be given to the viceroy rather than to a mere *curaca*. Presumably, therefore, the idea which Tupac Amaru had in mind was that Arriaga's infractions of the law outlawed him so that anyone (Tupac Amaru among the rest) might kill him without breaking the law. Consult, Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de Obras y Documentos relativos a la Historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata*, 6 vols. (Buenos Aires), 1836, V. "Documentos para la Historia de la Sublevación de José Gabriel de Tupac-Amaru, cacique de la Provincia de Tinta en el Perú," pp. 1-7.

²⁷ The sum of money thus obtained by the insurgents is variously stated, but it seems to have been between 22,000 and 25,000 pesos. Supporters of the first version are: Odriozola, *Documentos Históricos del Perú*, and Edmond Temple, *Travels in Various Parts of Peru*, 2 vols. (London, 1830), II. 105. Among those who uphold the second version are: Angelis, *Colección*, p. 3, Lorente, *Historia*, p. 181; and Markham, *A History of Peru*, p. 197.

The execution of Arriaga, in the presence of a large crowd of the oppressed Indians who had flocked together from the whole countryside, was the signal for a general uprising. Events moved rapidly. Tupac Amaru made good use of the money he had got from Arriaga to win over to his side many Indians who might not have had the temerity to join him otherwise. On Friday, November 17, 1780, Tupac Amaru, with several hundred followers, attacked Sangarará where about 600 Spaniards and an auxiliary force of Indians headed by Juan Sahuaraura Inca took refuge in the church, in which they spent the night. The next day, after he had ordered the priest to eat the Host or to dispose of it in some other suitable way, Tupac Amaru attacked the church. Those inside were prevented from coming out by the steady stream of bullets and stones which the musketeers and slingers of Tupac Amaru directed against all the doors. Finally, the church took fire, and the stores of powder inside of it exploded, killing about 570 Spaniards. Tupac Amaru lost only 30 men by wounds and 15 killed. This victory encouraged many Indians to join his ranks. On the 19th of November, he captured Quiquijana and the rich *obrajes* of Punapuquio and Pumacanchi. There, besides finding between 18,000 and 20,000 pesos of money, the insurgents got thousands of yards of woollen and cotton cloth, a goodly number of firearms and two small cannon. As a result of this windfall, some 3,000 of Tupac Amaru's 6,000 men were now armed with muskets, the rest having still to be content with slings. Discipline seems to have been poor in his army.

These successes not only greatly strengthened Tupac Amaru, but they also roused his enemies to desperation.

The real ruler of Peru at this time, at least so far as the Indians were concerned, was José Antonio de Areche. Ever since his appointment by Charles III. in 1776 to the post of *visitador general* of Peru, Chile, and La Plata, he had shown himself to be a man of utter cruelty. Very like him in character was Benito de la Mata Linares y Vasquez Dávila, who, early in 1780, became an *oidor* in the *Audiencia* of Lima. In fact it is plain enough that though Charles III. preserved that benevolent attitude toward

his American subjects which had distinguished his predecessors he was not so far as Peru was concerned, always sufficiently wise or sufficiently careful to pick out fit men for responsible positions.

Made anxious by the good fortune which attended the opening days of the rebellion, Areche took steps which led to despatching from Lima of some 400 trained soldiers under the generalship of José del Valle y Torres. Valle was plentifully supplied with arms and munitions, and he was ordered to join forces with the militia of the revolted districts. This he did in February, 1781, finding himself at that time the commander of somewhat more than 17,000 men, among whom were many Indians who remained faithful to Spain.

Meanwhile, in December, 1780, the rebellion spread far southward. On December 5th, after the victory of Sangarará, Tupac Amaru divided his forces into three divisions, one of which was sent to destroy Pumacagua *curaca* of Umachiri, and all his property. Tupac Amaru claimed to have 60,000 Indians under his orders at this time in his career, and it is not impossible that this number is correct, for the moral effect of his victories was very great. From December 6th to 13th, he was in the region of Ayaviri and Azangaro, where he does not seem to have been entirely admirable, for his soldiers, if not he himself, committed a number of atrocities and robberies. On December 13, the houses of Diego and José Chuquiguanca at Azangaro were pillaged, because the Chuquiguanca were among those who remained faithful to the Spanish authorities. On December 14, Tupac Amaru returned to his house at Tungasuca. In all this he was aided and encouraged by his wife, Micaela Bastidas and by his brother Diego. The revolt in Peru stimulated a similar revolt in the Titicaca basin where, because the people were the bellicose Collas, and not the mild Quechuas, outrages and cruelty were far more general than in Peru.²⁸ The leader was one Tomás Tupac Catari. He was killed in March, 1781, but his successors carried on his work for many months longer, even besieging La Paz.

²⁸ Vicente de Ballivián y Róxas, *Archivo Boliviano* (Paris, 1872).

Encouraged by his wife, Tupac Amaru twice tried to capture Cuzco, but unsuccessfully. The last of these attempts was frustrated by a two days' battle (January 8 to 10, 1781) on the heights around Cuzco.

During the remainder of January and during all of February, Tupac Amaru remained at Tinta reorganizing his forces. This was a terrible mistake, for it gave his foes an admirable opportunity to gain strength. By the end of February, Valle and his army, as well as Areche and Mata Linares, had arrived in Cuzco. The truth seems to be that Tupac Amaru lacked ability both as a general and as a politician. He had every advantage on his side for, though the army of Valle was large and well-armed, his own was, potentially at least, larger. With sixteen exceptions (including Sahuaraura Inca, Diego Chuquiguanca and García Pumacagua) all the *curacas* in Peru had declared in his favor, and the jagged defiles of the Andes might easily have been made impenetrable by hosts of desperate slingers and javelin-throwers. The firearms of that day would have given the Spanish soldiery, hampered by their inflexible column formation and awkward clothing, little if any advantage over the agile Indians and their deadly slings. It is plain that Tupac Amaru was unable to be splendidly desperate, to risk all on a bold chance. Furthermore, he made a fatal mistake when he failed to realize that the creoles and mestizos (*i.e.*, the Spanish-blooded persons born in America and those of mixed Spanish and Indian blood) were almost as much oppressed by and outraged by the *chapetones* (Spaniards born in Spain) as were the pure-blooded Indians. Had he taken this situation into consideration, and had he made common cause with the creole-mestizo class against their common oppressors, he would undoubtedly have made himself supreme in Peru.

On March 12, 1781, active hostilities recommenced. There were several skirmishes in the Vilcamayu Valley between Quiquijana and Tinta. A good deal of military stupidity was displayed by both Valle and Tupac Amaru. Finally, on April 6, 1781, the forces of Tupac Amaru were completely shattered near Checcacupe. He, his wife, two of their sons and a number of kinsmen and kinswomen, were captured. Sixty-seven of his followers were summarily hanged at Tinta. The captives were

haled into Cuzco, being showered with indignities of all kinds at every step.

On May 15, 1781, Areche, supported morally by Mata Linares, pronounced a most ferocious sentence against Tupac Amaru and his fellow captives. On May 18th, Tupac Amaru was forced to witness the execution of all those whom he cherished; then his tongue was torn out by the roots; then he was pulled to pieces by four horses, one limb being attached by a rope to each one. Lastly, his body was burned, the charred remains of his head and arms and legs being distributed about among various villages in the plazas of which they were set up on poles. Afterwards, Areche ordered that none should be allowed to speak Quechua, that all dramas, folk-tales, pictures, and books preserving the memory of ancient days should be destroyed, and that every bit of property which had belonged to Tupac Amaru should be demolished. Nearly 80,000 Indians fell victims to the unbridled hatred of Areche.

Areche and Mata Linares then set about systematically obliterating all vestiges of the Inca family. Many of them were hunted out and put to death with the most frightful cruelty, neither gray hairs nor womanhood being respected. One group of ninety men and women, all more or less closely related to the ancient royal family, were shipped to Spain where Charles III. permitted them to be distributed about among his worst prisons there to perish miserably. By the end of 1783 the dynasty that had done so much for the Andean countries was extinct.²⁹

²⁹ This account of the rebellion is based on material, often very contradictory, gleaned from the following authors: Angelis, *Colección*; Hiram Bingham, *Across South America* (Boston, 1911); Bryce, *South America*; Gregorio Funes, *Historia Civil de Buenos Aires, Tucuman y Paraguay*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1856); Lavalle, *Galeria de Retratos*; Lorente, *Historia*; Markham, *A History of Peru*; Mendiburu, *Diccionario*; Miller, *Memoirs*; Odriozola, *Documentos*; Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation* (New York, 1908), pp. 153-217; Manuel Ordoñez López and Luis S. Crespo, *Bosquejo de la Historia de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1912); the anonymous *Relación Histórica*; Riva-Agüero, *La Historia en el Perú*; Temple, *Travels*; M. Nemesio Vargas, *Historia del Perú Independiente*, 5 vols. (Lima, 1903-1912); Wiesse, *Las Civilizaciones primitivas del Perú*; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Documentos relativos a la Rebelión de Tupac Amaru*, in *Revista de Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales* (ed. by Carlos A. Romero and Ricardo Rey y Boza), IV. 501-552 (Lima, 1900).

IV

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REBELLION OF TUPAC AMARU II.

The attitude of the leader of the rebellion which has been studied here toward the Crown of Spain is not very clearly perceivable. A document beginning "Don José I., by the grace of God, Inca, King of Peru, Quito, Chile, Buenos Aires, and the continents of the South Sea, Lord of the River of the Amazons, with dominion over the Grand Paytiti", and which goes on to proclaim the king of Castile a usurper is undoubtedly a forgery.³⁰ This, however, can not be said of an "*Exorto*" sent to the city of Arequipa on the 23d of December, 1780, by Tupac Amaru. This document reads:

El Señor Don Josef Tupac Amaro Ynca, descendiente del Rey natural de este Reyno del Peru, Tronco principal y único Señor de el . . . (here follows an account of his successes) y asi valor, vasallos mios, y a toda voz viva, viva, viva el Dueño principal; muera el usurpo del mal gobierno, y encomendarme a Dios. Targasuca [*sic*] y Diciembre 23 de 1780.³¹

Unless the word *dueño* is taken to refer to the king, this proclamation smacks of something very like treason against the Spanish Crown.³²

On the other hand, a letter directed by Tupac Amaru to his cousin Bernardo Sucagua on November 15, 1780, orders that the *corregidor* in Sucagua's district be seized and all his property confiscated. The letter adds "Esta orden no es contro Dios, ni contra el Rey, sino contra las malas introducciones."³³ On November 25th, he described himself as "D. José Gabriel Tupac-Amaru, de la sangre real y tronco principal."³⁴

³⁰ Markham, *Travels in Peru and India* (London, 1862), pp. 148-150; Mendiburu *ut supra*, VIII. 137; Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*, pp. 206, 207.

³¹ The original of this MS. is in the Library of Congress.

³² Angelis, *ut supra*, p. 12.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

On December 12, in a letter to Bishop Moscoso y Peralta of Cuzco, it is noteworthy that his tone is much more moderate.³⁵

In fact, Tupac Amaru seems to have lacked a fixed and definite idea as to his exact ambitions. In general, however, his aim seems not to have been one of treason to the Crown. We may, therefore, accept his letter of March 5, 1781, to Areche as being an authoritative statement of his purposes. The points he there makes are these:

A. The king has given his consent to the establishment of Indian *alcaldes mayores* in each province for the administration of justice, and his majesty has also consented to abolish the *corregidores*.

B. The various officials have long acted in disobedience to the expressed will of the Crown as regards the treatment to be given to the Indians.

C. Various prelates, cabildos, and other persons of importance have protested against the evils arising from the system of *repartimientos*.

D. The present rebellion is declared not to be directed against the Crown, rather its purpose is that of carrying out the king's wishes.

E. Attention is called to the fearful conditions prevailing in mines, *obrajes*, and on farms.

It is easy to see that these demands were those of an eminently fair-minded and justice-loving man. They were the first formal and reasonable protest against Spanish misgovernment in Peru. It is exceedingly pleasant to know that, as a result of this rebellion, reforms were presently instituted.

The change took place during the reign of the Viceroy Don Teodoro de Croix (1784-1790). By a royal mandate of January 28, 1782, Croix was authorized to establish the *intendencias*. The early date of the mandate indicates that some knowledge of Tupac Amaru's demands must have been received in Spain

³⁵ For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that Diego Cristóbal Tupac Amaru, brother and aide of José Gabriel, was received, pardoned, and absolved by Bishop Juan Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta at Sicuani, January 26-29, 1782, the occasion being made a remarkable ecclesiastical love-feast, as it were. The pacification of the revolted districts was, for the time being, complete. Nevertheless, on July 19, 1783, Diego was put to death, and so was his wife. See Lavalley, *ut supra*, pp. 154, 155; Lorente, *ut supra*, p. 210; Guillermo del Río, *Monumentos Literarios del Perú* (Lima, 1812), pp. 143-154.

prior to his death, for the interval between May 15, 1781, and January 28, 1782, seems hardly long enough for his final views to have reached Spain. It is possible that some such formulation as that already referred to as being dated March 5, 1781, may have been received earlier at the Court. No direct reference to him is made in the royal orders.

Seven large provinces or *intendencias* were established, each one being subdivided into a number of *partidos*. This system became the basis for the present administrative divisions of Peru. On the 26th February, 1787, an *audiencia* was established at Cuzco with special jurisdiction over cases touching upon Indians.

The inner significance of the rebellion is not a difficult one to determine. Here was a people who, while unmolested by outsiders, showed themselves to possess a remarkable genius for government. Their independence destroyed, they were obliged to struggle on for generations under the tragic misrule of a government totally unsuited to their needs, a government which, ironically enough, made use of a distorted form of their own institutions to grind them down. At length, they found in a member of their own royal house a champion who had enough intelligence and courage to set forth their aspirations and to fight for them. It speaks well for the inherent excellence of those aspirations and of those people who held them that they were not without friends among the ruling class and that in great measure they were finally successful.

Such was the first successful step toward freedom in Peru. It must not be supposed, however, that there were not earlier, if abortive, attempts to get rid of the onerous burdens imposed by the colonial system of Spain in Peru. One such attempt was made as early as 1565, when the colonial régime had been in force a scant thirty years. The exposé of it was a *curaca* named Cristóval Callaballauri. He was the foreman of a gang of carpenters on an estate called Ananguanca, not far from Chupaca in the Jauja valley. The owner of the estate was Felipe de Segovia Balderabano Briceño. He was engaged in building an *obraje* on which work Callaballauri was employed.

The latter absented himself without leave for a month. When his master went in search of him and found him, he discovered that a large number of Indians were on the point of breaking out into revolt and that they were well prepared with arms and supplies. This event occurred in December, 1565. It was the intention of the Indians to slaughter all the Christians save the women, whom they were going to lead into captivity. Thanks to the prompt action of the owner of the estate, the movement was stopped.

In fact, then, as well as in the revolt of Tupac Amaru, and in the later movement of Garcia Pumacagua, the whole deplorable situation was due directly to the tragic friction between the two races. It is this same friction which does much harm to-day in the Andean lands, and a kindred friction may be found in many countries having a bi-racial population. Modern sociology must seek to find a counter-irritant for it.

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